

Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

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GENEVA FOR US DEL CSCE, SHAPE FOR INTAF

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: FRG PROPOSAL ON PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS

REF: (A) BONN 14117; (B) USNATO 4622; (C) STATE 191312;

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1. YOU SHOULD RAISE WITH OFFICIALS FRG PROPOSAL TO DELETE

LIMITS ON EXERCISES (OLD PARA 6 (III) OF SECTION II) AND REFERENCES TO AREA IN MEASURES II AND IV, LEAVING ONLY PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MOVEMENTS OF US AND SOVIET FORCES INTO AREA AND CBM-TYPE LIMITS ON MAJOR EXERCISES, AND MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS.

2. WE APPRECIATE FRG WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS PROPOSAL WITH US BEFORE TABLING IN NATO, AND WE CONTINUE TO BE SYMPATHETIC TO DESIRE OF FRG AND OTHER ALLIES TO AVOID MOVES IN MBFR TENDING TO CREATE SPECIAL ARMS CONTROL ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE OR TO HAMPER GROWTH OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION. AS NOTED IN PARA 3, REF C, WHILE WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR OTHER ALLIES TO BE ASSOCIATED IN MEASURES OF THIS SORT, WE ARE PREPARED TO JOIN ALLIED CONSENSUS ON THIS ISSUE WITH A VIEW TO REACHING AN AGREED PAPER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AT THE SAME TIME, WE BELIEVE GERMAN PROPOSAL, AS DESCRIBED BY RUTH AND OUTLINED BY AMBASSADOR BEHREND'S DURING RECENT VISIT HERE, WOULD INVOLVE A MAJOR CHANGE IN DIRECTION IN ALLIED THINKING ON THESE ISSUES IF ACCEPTED BY THE ALLIES. WE WOULD ASK FRG TO FOREGO TABLING PROPOSAL IN NATO IN LIGHT OF FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS.

3. SINCE THESE MEASURES WOULD BE PROPOSED BY ALLIES IN NEGOTIATIONS, DELETION OF REFERENCE TO "AREA" IN MEASURES II AND IV WOULD MEAN THAT ALLIES THEMSELVES WOULD BE THE FIRST TO PROPOSE AN AREA FOR MBFR USE EXTENDING FAR BEYOND THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN REDUCTION AREA EVEN BEFORE LATTER HAD BEEN FIRMLY ESTABLISHED. SUCH AN ACTION WOULD SERIOUSLY UNDERCUT CAPACITY OF ALLIES TO ARGUE THAT REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE LIMITED TO CENTRAL EUROPE, AS PROVIDED IN THE SECRET GUIDELINES, AND WOULD INCREASE DIFFICULTY OF COUNTERING POSSIBLE SOV ET AND EAST EUROPEAN PROPOSALS TO NEGOTIATE REDUCTIONS OF AIR AND NUCLEAR ELEMENTS IN MBFR ON THE BASIS OF A PUTATIVE GLOBAL BALANCE BEGINNING WITH EUROPE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN FOCUS OF MBFR WILL BE DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN IN ANY EVENT GIVEN ANNOUNCED INTENT OF ROMANIANS TO PROPOSE PARALLEL PRECEPTS ON BALKANS AND NORTHERN EUROPE. WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE ALLIANCE

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AS A WHOLE, INCLUDING THE FRG, TO DILUTE THIS CENTRAL EUROPEAN FOCUS BY PROPOSALS OF THIS TYPE.

4. WITH REGARD TO BELGIAN SUGGESTION

THAT ALLIES AGREE NOW THAT THESE FOUR MEASURES WOULD APPLY TO US AND SOVIET FORCES, WHILE HOLDING OUT FOR URGENT CONSIDERATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE THE POSSIBILITY OF PARTICIPATION BY NON-US NATO FORCES, WE RECOGNIZE AND SHARE FRG AND DUTCH CONCERN AT SEPARATION OF US AND NON-US NATO FORCES IN ALLIED PROPOSALS. WE HAVE RECOMMENDED ALLIANCE AGREEMENT ON MEASURES II-IV PRECISELY IN ORDER TO ASSOCIATE OTHER ALLIES IN FIRST-PHASE MBFR COMMITMENTS. WITH REGARD TO IMPACT OF SUCH MEASURES APPLIED TO US FORCES- YOU MAY ASSURE UK DELEGATION THAT IN OUR JUDGMENT PROPOSED PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES II-IV WOULD NOT DIMINISH ALLIED SECURITY EVEN IF APPLIED TO ALL FORCES. AT SAME TIME, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE FEASIBLE, IN INTEREST OF

ARRIVING AT AGREED ALLIED POSITION PAPER PRIOR TO BEGINNING OF NEGOTIATIONS, TO AGREE NOW TO PUT FORWARD ALL FOUR MEASURES APPLICABLE TO US AND SOVIET FORCES ONLY AND TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY WITHIN NATO TO STUDY POSSIBILITY OF PARTICIPATION OF NON-US NATO FORCES IN ONE OR MORE OF MEASURES II-IV WITH A VIEW TO AGREEING TO PROPOSE OR ACCEPT SUCH PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATIONS. WE CONTINUE TO FAVOR SUCH PARTICIPATION, AND YOU SHOULD ASSURE FRG AND NETHERLANDS DELS THAT THIS IS OUR POSITION. KISSINGER

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